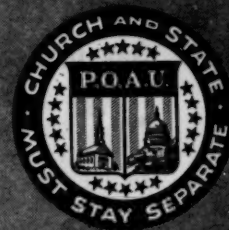


CHURCH AND STATE

A MONTHLY REVIEW



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APRIL 1956

Tax Waiver for Private Schools Before Congress

A quiet attempt to save Catholic parochial schools more than one million dollars in federal taxes was revealed in Congress in March when the House subcommittee on excise taxes recommended exemption from manufacturers', transportation and communication taxes for all private, non-profit schools. The decision of the subcommittee was made after its chairman, Representative Aime J. Forand of Rhode Island, had made an impassioned plea for giving "the same exemptions of parochial schools that we are giving to the public schools." He cited his own Holy Redeemer parish near Washington as an example of the way in which parochial schools lighten the taxpayers' burden, and asked that Congress take into consideration such service to the community.

The tax program proposed by the subcommittee would free all private, non-profit schools, including wealthy universities, from federal taxes on telephone calls, school buses, gasoline and transportation. Under the program parochial and other private schools would escape the ten per cent charge on telephone calls and the tax on the transportation of a basketball team by interstate buses. The government's total loss would run about \$3,000,000 annually, and the exemption would involve a considerable increase in administrative problems, including a new flow of paper records back to tax headquarters from retail vendors.

The move for the new concession came, apparently, from Catholic sources only. Chairman Forand confined his plea for exemptions to Catholic schools, and no testimony was taken at hearings from any other private school interests.

POAU's Executive Director, Glenn Archer, in protesting the proposed concession to parochial schools, de-

clared that it was a "form of creeping sectarianism in fiscal policy. The amount of money involved is comparatively slight in these days of astronomical billions, but the principle is important. In the past the Roman Catholic hierarchy has used every minor concession as a precedent for a larger concession. It has moved progressively from demanding textbooks and buses to demanding buildings. If we exempt such schools from federal excise taxes, even when other private, non-religious schools are included in the concession to give the program an air of non-partisanship, we will be giving the hierarchy a new argument to support its claim that Catholic schools are entitled to the same treatment as public schools."

Fortunately, the Treasury Department has not agreed to the proposed tax cut, and the whole program may be defeated in both the House and Senate. Dr. Dan Throop Smith, Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, opposed the concession in January hearings on the ground that it might serve as a basis for a progressive series of exemptions, and create a feeling of discrimination among non-exempt taxpayers. If the proposed tax program reaches the Senate Finance Committee, it is likely that POAU and several other organizations will appear against it.

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Asks End of Confusion Over School 'Values'

In a notable address delivered in February before the 82nd annual convention of the American Association of School Administrators in Atlantic City, N. J., Lawrence A. Cremin, associate professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, sought to clarify points which have been "beclouded" in recent controversies over the place of religion in public education. Speaking on "Values, Religion, and the Public

School," he said that the "unique" diversification of American society, "in which some 97,500,000 persons [are] organized into some 250 religious denominations and over 65,000,000 persons . . . are religiously unaffiliated," makes it essential that "a common bond of value—a public philosophy" be nurtured by the public school system.

"In the actual business of teaching values," Professor Cremin continued, "public schools are usually concerned with at least three different kinds of learning: commitment, knowledge, and appreciation. More often than not, it is the confusion of the three that beclouds discussion of the problem. I believe it is one function of the public school to *commit* young Americans to our public philosophy, to that body of values . . . which stands as a general moral imperative for Americans of all faiths. . . . Yet one point remains essential. When teachers deal with the values of our public philosophy, they are dealing with values for which different Americans have different ultimate justifications and sanctions. We are a people of many religious faiths, and the public school has no right to teach any or all of these faiths as true or false. In our society, a man can be a good citizen and subscribe freely to the public philosophy no matter what his religious belief or disbelief. This is the crux of our devotion to religious freedom.

"That there *are* these religious differences, however, is one of the most profoundly important facts about our life as a people; and the schools miss a golden opportunity for furthering the health of our nation if they ignore it. Thus, the other two kinds of learning: *knowledge* and *appreciation*. I believe the public school should provide students with *knowledge* about and *appreciation* of our heritage of religious diversity . . . not in any special course established for that purpose alone, but wherever

(Continued on page 7)

Rights Imperilled, Many Say in Reply to Senators

Some 3,000 persons replied to the "Questionnaire on the Religion Clause of the First Amendment" circulated by the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights last fall, preliminary to formal hearings which were later abruptly cancelled by the Subcommittee under apparent pressure from interests which feared an open inquiry (*Church and State*, October and November). Nine hundred of those replying were political scientists or other specialists whose opinions had been particularly sought by the investigators; about 2,020 were members of the general public, 80 per cent of whom said "yes" to Question 5, "Have you observed any significant instances in recent years of a denial of the rights expressed in the religion clause?"

Still proceeding cautiously, the Subcommittee has refrained from releasing the questionnaire results generally. Religious News Service (RNS) was allowed to send a reporter to the Subcommittee's Washington office to consult a 50-page report on the replies, prepared by Miss Laura M. Sharp of the Bureau of Social Science Research of American University at the investigators' request. The results indicated in this story are based on the RNS account.

According to the tabulation, Christian Scientists, Jehovah's Witnesses and a sect of Mormons were heavily represented among members of the "general public" who replied. The Christian Scientists were especially apprehensive over the water-fluoridation program adopted by some communities and argued that the procedure amounted to "enforced medication" in violation of their religious freedom; Jehovah's Witnesses pointed to many allegedly discriminatory acts against them by government agencies; and Mormon fundamentalists objected to laws prohibiting polygamy. Replies from some Lutherans and Roman Catholics contended that private and religious school pupils should be entitled to share not only in public health services but also in free school bus transportation provided at public expense.

The Subcommittee indicated, however, that it would base its report to the Senate on the replies received from the 900 political scientists and other specialists, which, according to Religious News Service, indicated that 28 per cent of them had found spe-

Madison Urged Federal Safeguards of Liberty

In recent controversies over the meaning of "separation of church and state," advocates of a narrow construction of the religious-liberty guarantee of the First Amendment (e. g., James M. O'Neill) have argued that it was intended purely as a restriction on the federal government and that the Founding Fathers had no objection to actions by the states in favor of religious institutions. This lends particular interest to a letter of James Madison, to Thomas Jefferson, dated October 24, 1787, in which the "father of the Constitution" spoke of the necessity for curbing the states in order "to secure individuals against encroachments on their rights." Writing to Jefferson in Paris, Madison observed further: "... the mutability of the laws of the states is found to be a serious evil. The injustice of them has been so frequent and so flagrant as to alarm the most steadfast friends of Republicanism." The letter is published in Volume 12 of "The Papers of Thomas Jefferson," Princeton University Press, 700 pp., \$10.

cific infractions of conscientious rights. Among the alleged violations which they cited were: federal aid to private religious schools, employment of garbed Roman Catholic sisters as public school teachers, compulsory public school Bible-reading, anti-birth control laws, tax exemption of church properties, the "In God We Trust" slogan on United States money and the insertion of "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Seventy-nine per cent answered "yes" to Question 4, "Do you consider that the U. S. Supreme Court is correct in interpreting the religion clause in conjunction with the Fourteenth Amendment as constituting a prohibition against acts by state and local governments as well as against acts by the Federal Government?"

Four hundred and eighty-one of the specialists said they regarded the phrase, "make no law respecting an establishment of religion" (Question 2 [a]), as a "prohibition against any direct or indirect government aid to churches or religious sects." Three hundred and sixty-nine said they interpreted the Constitution's language to mean the banning of "preferential treatment of any particular church or religious sect while permitting government aid to religion generally or to the various churches and sects on a non-discriminatory basis" (Question 2 [b]).

Without Fear or Favor, POAU's detailed statement to the Subcommit-

tee, is available in the form of a handsome 36-page pamphlet for 10c a single copy, \$1 a dozen, \$8.50 for 100, \$30 for 500.

Late Dr. Poteat Called Symbol of Spirit's Might

"... it is hard to associate with death one who in his goodness and his wit, his courage and his charm, was as gay a saint as has ever walked our streets," the *Raleigh News and Observer* declared in its editorial noting the passing on December 17 of POAU's late president, Edwin McNeill Poteat (*Church and State*, January).

"... he debonairly served both his Lord and his fellows while he knew always that Death walked at his side..." the newspaper continued. "Obviously a man with McNeill Poteat's gift of the word and the spirit would have hardly been expected to return, without good reason, to the pulpit of his youth at the prime of a national career as he did in 1948. The frailty of his health was, of course, realized by his friends. But he made his church here such a real corner of the kingdom—he carried still his convictions and his faith with such compelling voice to every part of this country—that he seemed almost the embodiment of the strength of the spirit."

"... He required no sanctimony and as a man who could write great sermons and important books he never feared any damage to his dignity (Continued on next page)

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CHURCH AND STATE

NEWS From Far and Near

◆ After temporarily conducting public school classes in Washington, D.C., and Silver Spring, Md., on a special occasion, two scientists, in letters published in *The Washington Post and Times-Herald* of March 25, expressed misgivings about religious exercises (Bible-reading and recitation of the Lord's Prayer) which they had observed in the classrooms. One, noting the use of a loudspeaker and public-address system, commented: "Perhaps it is exaggerated to say that these young men and women were worshipping a black box, but the analogy is uneasily close to the nightmarish society predicted by George Orwell in his book, *1984*."

◆ An inquiry into the "forms and foreseeable results" of disestablishing the Swedish State Lutheran Church is proposed in a bill introduced into Parliament by Rolf Edberg, Social Democrat who was recently named Ambassador to Norway. "*Svenska Morgonbladet*," a Free Church daily, favored the inquiry but warned that it should be objective and not "aimed directly at a future separation of Church and State."

◆ A Mississippi legislative bill to take away tax exemption from church and other non-profit groups practicing racial integration seemed slated for a veto by Governor J. P. Coleman as he discussed the measure at a press conference, saying: "When you start interfering with the administration of religion, you're on dangerous ground." Although the Roman Catholic Church has been prominent in endorsing desegregation, Senator George Yarbrough of Red Banks, author of the bill, denied that it was aimed at any particular church. Senator D. F. Lambert of Belmont, a supporter of segregation, opposed the bill as "dangerous in principle."

◆ The Communist Government of Yugoslavia reports that it gave 135 million dinars (\$450,000) to church organizations during 1955, including the equivalent of \$213,000, or nearly half of the total, to Roman Catholic groups. This included, of course, so-called "patriotic-priests" organizations fathered by the state.

◆ A special citizens committee to rally support for public school bonds includes among its members Msgr. Eugene F. Vallely, vicar general of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Kansas City, Kans. This is an event notable for its rarity, and in sharp contrast with the more common attitude of Msgr. Vallely's colleagues, as exemplified by Archbishop John F. O'Hara, who attacked the "educational palaces" of the public school system in a Washington address last month, adding: "... and when we realize that most of these are financed through bond issues that will add 50 to 60 per cent to their cost, we thank God that we are building with the offerings of the poor and not with tax money."

◆ The dual function of Makarios III, Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Cyprus, as the political as well as religious leader of his people has led to endless complications in church-state relationships since the British governor exiled him in an effort to end terrorism on the island. The established Church of England is in communion with the Greek Orthodox Church, and thus subject to pressure from the Holy Synod of the latter body to condemn the governor's alleged interference with the Archbishop's "ecclesiastical" duties. That explains why the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, tried to steer a middle course in an address to the House of Lords on March 15, urging Britain to take into account the gravity of the matter for the Greek church, but at the same time calling on the latter "to recognize that to us here it seemed shocking that an Archbishop should take a lead in political matters. . . ."

◆ "As an American Protestant, I could not be comfortable in the realization that all ministers are paid by the state," Dr. Eugene Carson Blake of the National Council of Churches observed upon his return last month from a visit to Russia with a delegation of eight other American churchmen.

Bishop Fails in Bid For County Hospital

You build it, we'll run it.

That, in substance, was the offer made by Roman Catholic Bishop Vincent S. Waters of the Raleigh, N.C., diocese in a letter read to the Wake County Commissioners as they met on March 7 to vote on a site for a proposed county general hospital to be built through a five million dollar public bond issue. "A group of religious Sisters," the letter, as read by Dr. M. D. Hill, of Raleigh, noted, "would be given full charge to operate and take care of all the needs of the County and City" under the Bishop's plan. The proposal was received with favor at first by the chairman and two other members of the commission, but prompt opposition from the *Raleigh Times*, a note of caution in the *Raleigh News and Observer*, and vigorous objections from Protestant groups paved the way for ultimate rejection of the proposition.

Bishop's Letter

In a tone of sweet reasonableness, Bishop Waters wrote in his letter:

"The thought occurred to me that since it will be five to ten years before the Catholic Diocese of Raleigh would be able to build a suitable hospital on our site on Route 70-A opposite Pullen Park, the Board might consider this proposition:

"I would be happy to donate to a religious group of Sisters, suitable and sufficient acreage for a hospital facing 70-A, at this location which I have considered a good hospital site, provided the county would care to build on this site donated to the Sisters by me, a hospital which the Sisters would be given full charge to operate and take care of all the needs of the County and City."

The letter was read just after a motion had been made and seconded that the board approve another site,

(Continued on page 8)

Symbol of Spirit's Might

(Continued from page 2)

when he wrote comic verse, too. There was never any lapse in his willingness to fight, however, for such things as the separation of church and state and the oneness of God's concern for all men. About such things he was always a very serious man, but no seriousness ever hardened his heart, stilled his laughter or dulled his wit. . . ."

Missing Basque Refugee Called Trujillo Victim

Dr. Jesus de Galindez has been missing from his apartment in New York City since March 12, and U. S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., has been asked to put the Federal Bureau of Investigation on the case because of the likelihood that he has been "the victim of a political crime arranged by a foreign government of this hemisphere to which he was known to be opposed and which had threatened him three months ago." The government referred to was that of General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, dictator of the Dominican Republic, who visited Pope Pius XII at the Vatican on June 16, 1954, in order to sign a concordat with the Holy See (*Church and State*, July and October, 1954; see, also, picture on this page).

Dr. de Galindez, 42 years old and a Spanish Republican exile from the Basque region who went to the Dominican Republic in 1937 and came to the United States in 1946, is the author of a recent Columbia University doctoral dissertation entitled, *The Era of Trujillo*. Before his disappearance, he had been seeking its publication by a general publisher, and had been threatened by persons who did not wish to see it published. Wenzell Brown, a fellow author and friend, commented:

"He was a member of the Requena Memorial Committee, of which I am

chairman. The committee was formed in honor of Andres Requena, who was shot and killed in New York in 1952 after publishing a pamphlet critical of the Trujillo regime. All of us on the committee have received threats."

Another associate, Dr. German Arciniegas, professor of Spanish at Columbia, recalled that Dr. de Galindez had mentioned receiving threats as early as a year ago. Detective Peter Heinz of the New York police force said that the F. B. I. already had entered the case because the missing man had reported the threats to it earlier, but F. B. I. spokesmen declined comment.

Eleven organizations jointly wired Attorney General Brownell demanding a federal investigation—organizations whose diversity is indicated by the following sampling: American Catholic Trade Union Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, American Committee for Cultural Freedom, Latin-American representative of the A. F. L.-C. I. O., and the Post-War World Council. Norman Thomas, chairman of the last-mentioned, said that Dr. de Galindez' study of Trujillo was "very caustic." Later, the Inter-American Press Association also sent a telegram to the Attorney General calling for an investigation.

A professor of international law at Columbia, Dr. de Galindez is registered with the Department of Justice

as delegate of the refugee Basque government in Paris. He described himself as a member of the Basque Nationalist Party (Catholic Democrats), contributed a column to *El Diario de Nueva York*, a Spanish-language daily, and regularly attended meetings of the Ibero-American Poets and Writers Guild.

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Plan New Fight to Free Jersey Medical Center

Embattled citizens of Jersey City have lost another round in their persistent fight to keep their great Medical Center from being handed over to a Catholic college. But they are not discouraged, and plan to carry the battle to a higher court at the first opportunity. The stake involved in the struggle is the ultimate control by the Catholic hierarchy of the gigantic eleven-building, eighty-million-dollar skyscraper hospital.

The latest setback came in March when Superior Court Judge, Haydn Proctor dismissed the suit of Elliott Robbins and the Jersey City Association for Separation of Church and State which sought to block the transfer of the Medical Center by an injunction. Judge Proctor ruled that most of the issues in the suit had been decided adversely to the plaintiffs in a previous suit, but on the key issue of church-state separation he declared that the new suit was "premature," and he left the door open to a later challenge to the management contract between the city and the Catholic institution. The institution involved is Seton Hall University which is owned by the Archdiocese of Newark.

The plaintiffs, headed by Dr. George C. Hollingshead, contend that the transfer of the hospital is unconstitutional partly because it sacrifices public property to a sectarian purpose without informing the public about the details of the proposed management. Aaron Marder, attorney for the plaintiffs declared in his argument: "We charge sectarianism in this transaction. The separation of church and state doctrine in this country is the epitome of centuries of struggle. My clients have a deep respect for all religions and are aware of the contributions of them all, the Roman Catholic, the Protestant and Judaism, but the government must be neutral when it comes to competition between sects."

(Continued on next page)

IN BAD COMPANY



General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, president of the Dominican Republic, is shown above (left) with Pope Pius XII as they met at the Vatican on June 16, 1954 to sign a church-state concordat which, in Trujillo's words, signified his country's "confirmed adherence to the Catholic Church as the protectress of order and Christian civilization in the world. . . ." Trujillo's government was then, and remains today, one of the most ruthless dictatorships in the world, as may be seen from the story on this page concerning the disappearance of the Columbia University professor, Dr. Jesus de Galindez, who had been seeking a publisher for an anti-Trujillo book. (Religious News Service Photo)

Vermont Supreme Court To Rule on School Aid

May townships which have no high schools of their own use taxpayers' money to send children to church high schools in neighboring towns? That is the important legal question, never yet answered in an American court, which may eventually find an answer in a dispute which has reached the Vermont Supreme Court.

Vermont is one of several New England states which have permitted this indirect subsidy to Catholic high schools—Maine and Rhode Island are others—and the practice has never been officially challenged before. In November last year, after a careful study of the law, State Commissioner of Education A. John Holden, acting on the advice of Attorney General Robert T. Stafford, announced that the State of Vermont would no longer pay the State's allocation of school taxes to townships for students attending private schools. He pointed out that he did not include in the category of private schools those historic Vermont private academies which receive most of their support from the public. In effect, the new reform applies almost wholly to the large Catholic high schools in cities like Burlington, Rutland, and Brattleboro which for many years have been drawing up to an estimated \$75,000 in public subsidies from "satellite" townships for the tuition of their out-of-town students.

Catholic authorities in Vermont were quick to challenge the State's new ruling. South Burlington, Vermont, with a heavy Catholic population, which has been paying tuition for 64 of its students in Burlington Catholic high schools, early in March, asked the Vermont Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus compelling the State authorities to continue their subsidy of these sectarian schools.

The case has attracted wide attention in the Catholic press and the Church may give official support to the South Burlington officials. Although the church-state issue is not raised officially in the complaint, it is difficult to see how the issue can be avoided. The case may have far-reaching repercussions, especially if it should go to the United States Supreme Court on constitutional issues, thus establishing new law for other states as well as Vermont.

Attorney General Robert T. Stafford is expected to oppose the con-

DOUBLE-TALK



tinuation of the subsidy to private religious high schools on the ground that these institutions are not only private, and thus ineligible to receive Vermont funds, but also on the ground that they are sectarian institutions which are forbidden to use public money under the First Amendment.

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Jersey Medical Center

(Continued from page 4)

"Seton Hall University is under the control of the Archdiocese of Newark of the Roman Catholic Church. In operating a medical school it would have to follow the church doctrine that certain phases of medicine should not be taught to physicians."

Mr. Marder's reference was to the fact that Catholic hospitals will not permit birth control counseling, or therapeutic abortion even when the latter remedy is required to save the life of a mother. Catholic hospitals also forbid Catholic nurses to summon a Protestant clergyman directly for administering sacraments to Protestant patients. (This rule has been elaborated in the March *American Ecclesiastical Review*, published at Catholic University of America.)

After the March decision in the lower court, Msgr. John L. McNulty, president of Seton Hall University, declared: "It will take all the diabolic forces of hell to postpone the opening of the medical and dental school." In spite of the jubi-

lant announcement of Msgr. McNulty, legal experts predict that New Jersey's upper courts may find new merit in the contentions of the plaintiffs that public property is about to be disposed of without due process of law, in violation of the First Amendment.

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Tennessee Parent Hopes To Appeal Bible Ruling

A state school-Bible-reading law was held constitutional in a March 9 decision of the Tennessee Supreme Court and Philip M. Carden, the parent who had challenged the law as "embarrassing and offensive to him and his children," declared that he would appeal the decision to the United States Supreme Court if he was financially able to do so.

Chief Justice A. B. Neil, speaking for the highest state court, affirmed a lower court ruling that "the reading of a verse in the Bible without comment, the singing of some inspiring song and repeating the Lord's Prayer in the morning exercises at the public schools is not in violation of either the State or Federal Constitution." Carden, a night editor for the Associated Press in Nashville, had objected to these practices as well as to "the checking and recording of Sunday School attendance by public school teachers." An *amici curiae* (friends-of-the-court) brief had been filed in his support by Unitarian and Jewish groups (*Church and State*, March).

U.S. Academies' System Of Chaplaincies Probed

"Apparently four years of Episcopalian worship experience is deemed to be necessary to make a Baptist or a Methodist boy into the most desirable kind of officer for either the Army or the Navy," the Baptist *Report from the Capital* observed wryly in its March issue. In a story noting that the "pattern of religious services and the appointment of chaplains at West Point and Annapolis" were being reviewed by a special committee appointed by the General Commission on Chaplains, the *Report*—organ of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs—continued:

"The United States Military Academy at West Point has developed a long tradition, with very few exceptions, of appointing outstanding Episcopalian clergymen as civilian chaplains at the cadet chapel (Catholic cadets are excused). Some in the General Commission on Chaplains have contended that these practices are tantamount to the establishment of Episcopal worship and theology as official religion. They have also urged that the practice results in having the cadets come out as officers without having had appropriate contacts with the customary run of chaplains who serve in the Army under appointment of the Chief of Chaplains.

"Annapolis, on the other hand, has a 'Navy service' which is liturgical, and in reality Episcopalian, since it uses the Book of Common Prayer and has the Episcopalian hymnal in the pews. This service is conducted by a Navy Chaplain, but the chaplain is not free to order his own service. If he cannot conscientiously conduct the 'Navy service,' he has no choice but to withdraw. Here, also, the cadets are required to attend. . . . The numerous church-state relations that are involved in these situations certainly seem to merit careful study." (See, also, *Church and State*, July, 1955.) *Report from the Capital* is edited by Dr. C. Emanuel Carlson, a member of POAU's executive committee.

The same issue also notes that "the Air Force has carried the recognition of religious differences to the point of providing at Air Force expense transportation to private schools for the members of the Air Force families," and quotes from provisions of Air Force Regulation No. 34-13, dated September 1, 1955, on the subject. Under the regulation, the installation commander may provide

transportation to children attending private schools if he "finds that such schools are not accessible by regular means of transportation" and that certain other conditions exist, among them, this one: "The general morale and welfare of the personnel concerned requires attendance at sectarian private schools within a reasonable distance of the military installation." Other provisions state:

"If an installation commander is requested to provide transportation to sectarian private schools but determines that he will be unable to provide such transportation, he will forward his determination to the Director of Military Personnel, Headquarters USAF, setting forth in detail the nature of the request, the extent of the service required, the accessibility of the schools to regular means of transportation, and the factual basis for his determination.

"No expenses will be incurred with respect to dependent school children attending private schools, except in elementary and secondary grades equivalent to those provided as public education in the area where the installation is located."

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Protestant Teacher Group Backs French Subsidies

Continued government subsidization of non-public schools which accept state inspection and employ teachers with standard academic qualifications has been endorsed by the (French) Protestant Federation of Teachers in the face of recent parliamentary moves to repeal the subsidies (*Church and State*, March).

"We believe," said the Federation, "that there are solutions which will help in opening up the way to an educational system which is national without being nationalized." The organization recalled that it had originally opposed the Barange subsidization law, adopted in 1951, but argued that current bills for repeal of that law as well as nine other related acts were motivated by "revenge" on the part of anti-clerical legislators, and that the schools problem "is so complex that it is ridiculous to return to any status quo ante."

The majority of French non-public schools are Roman Catholic.

Enter Poujade

A new twist was given to the controversy when Pierre Poujade, leader of the Poujadist Party, or Union for the Defense of Tradesmen and

Artisans, let it be known through a spokesman that he had conferred with Maurice Cardinal Feltin, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Paris, and that the cardinal had seemed favorable to a proposal by Poujade for a national referendum on the question of state aid to church schools. Poujade's spokesman said that since the French constitution does not provide for such referendums, a special enabling act would have to be passed. He observed: "There is a growing desire for compromise on the school question in parliamentary circles, although the anti-clerical parties must have a face-saving pretext for abandoning the program they have made an essential part of their electoral platform."

The Poujadist Party, which now has 49 deputies in parliament after having shown surprising strength in the last elections, has been built up as Poujade's personal vehicle largely by agitating for "tax reform" on behalf of small shopkeepers, of whom Poujade is one. His methods are said to resemble those of Hitler and Mussolini, including the use of anti-Semitism as a political weapon, and a United Press dispatch from Rome on January 29 reported that Vittorio Ambrosini, an Italian Fascist and personal friend of Nazi propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels, "said he would leave for Paris" in order to "rally former Nazis and Fascists to the cause of Pierre Poujade." In announcing the referendum proposal, the Poujade spokesman said that there were both Catholics and anti-clericals in the movement.

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Payment Deferred

It is the fate of all religions closely integrated with State systems to share the fortunes of the latter. The Roman Empire in the fourth century was rapidly losing that affection from its subjects which had shown itself in the days of Augustus by genuine, spontaneous and, to modern minds, exaggerated demonstrations of loyalty. The fact presented a real, if perhaps unconscious, problem to the Church which had so recently been offered and had accepted the patronage of the imperial government. There was a price to pay for the conversion of Constantine, a price for which the bill was not presented all at once.—From Christianity and the State in the Light of History, by T. M. Parker, Harper & Brothers, 1955, 178 pp., \$3.00.

CHURCH AND STATE

Says Heritage Classes Open 'Pandora's Box'

Indianapolis public school officials were charged with abandoning "the ethical obligation to deal honestly and accurately with facts" in a sermon preached by the Rev. Jack Mendelsohn in All Souls Unitarian Church on February 26. He said that there "would be no alternative but recourse to the courts" if, at the end of the current school year, the public school board failed to make "a thorough evaluation" of the recently-instituted "trial run" program of teaching 7th and 8th-grade pupils "about" religion (*Church and State*, November, 1955).

Referring to course materials labelled "Our American Heritage" and "Structure of Government," the preacher said that the handling of the religious element in those materials had opened up "a Pandora's box" by setting an example which could only lead to "an unprecedented era of religious strife in America" if widely followed. "Not only does the [7th-grade] course take one part of our tradition and confuse it with the whole," he said, "it also misconstrues the meaning of that very portion it so fondly belabors. The notion that there was a common-denominator theism in our early heritage is a gross distortion. The leading churchmen of their time considered Jefferson, Madison, Washington, Franklin, etc., heretics. To suggest that one of the main historic goals in America was the furtherance of certain metaphysical views is to offer a partial and twisted reading of our diversified traditions. To imply that Washington, Adams, Jefferson and Madison gave formal religion a central place in their theories and beliefs about democracy is to play fast and loose with history in a manner meriting the severest condemnation. To slight the entire issue of the separation of Church and State in such a course is incredible."

No direct comment by Dr. Herman L. Shibler, general superintendent of schools, on Mendelsohn's charges was forthcoming, but he had declared earlier: "We aren't teaching religion. We are teaching about religion." Material for special religious-appreciation classes had been prepared first in 1954 with the cooperation of various religious and civic groups, tried out experimentally in 11 local schools and then "integrated" in 1955 in social studies

courses. Though misgivings were expressed in some quarters, the school board went ahead, at the same time promising that the experiment would be "evaluated" at the end of the school year.

Mendelsohn pleaded in his sermon for maintenance of "the public school as a symbol of secular unity amidst religious diversity. . . ." "Most Protestant bodies," he added, ". . . have tended to add to the general befuddlement by talking in two directions at the same time. They fear the loss of the principle of separation [of church and state] because of the strength of their religious competitors, but their hankering grows to utilize the vast power of the public school machinery."

School 'Values'

(Continued from page 1)

opportunities present themselves naturally in the curriculum: in community studies, in music and art appreciation, in history classes, in arranging for festive occasions, etc. An American child will learn soon enough that there are people whose religious commitments differ from his own; and it is the school's business to counter the misinformation and prejudice which often attends his incidental learning with knowledge and appreciation."

The speaker said that national unity depends upon acceptance of the following idea: "If men in their temporal affairs can agree to obey the laws, albeit one is following the will of God, a second, the command of reason, and a third, the dictates of expediency, that should be enough for Caesar. Ultimacies, as far as the state is concerned, remain the realm of the private, and while the many faiths of a people may be just province for their sympathetic inquiry and analysis, these faiths are not properly the grounds for legal or political discrimination." He noted that in applying the idea, however, the community approaches "an ultimacy of its own," which he formulated as follows: "In the extent to which no religious belief can be safe without common allegiance to the faith of live and let live, this common allegiance exerts a *prior*—or at the least, *coordinate*—claim, and groups which fail to acknowledge it are prone to lose their freedoms."

Professor Cremin observed that the American system, prizing freedom and dissent even in "so vital an

enterprise" as education, grants the parental right of providing privately supported "equivalent" education for children in non-public schools, but he took issue with "recent attempts to argue that private, denominational schools are quite as public as the public schools." He cited as an example an article by Father William Granger Ryan, president of Seton Hill College (Greensburg, Pa.), appearing in *The Commonwealth*, April 15, 1955. In refuting Father Ryan, Professor Cremin insisted that "direct control by the public is . . . a necessary dimension of public education." He added that "from its earliest days, the idea of a public school, serving the public, controlled by the public, and seeking to build a public philosophy, met with concerted and deeply-felt opposition" from various groups, some of them religious and others having "private ethnic" or "private class commitments," but all alike in that "some private loyalty was seen as the dominating value in education."

* * *

The convention, attended by 19,000 educators, adopted a resolution calling for the teaching of moral and spiritual values in the public schools, "by example and by precepts," as a policy "indispensable to the perpetuation of the American way of life." The resolution also said that such teaching should help pupils to understand "the vital role of religion in our American culture," and called for "increased cooperation of the schools with other community agencies which strive to make youth sensitive to the value of wholesome living."

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Ultimate Censors

"... At a recent meeting in Memphis, Tenn., 50 townspeople and a group of ministers decided that the final censors should be the citizens themselves.

"For years, Memphis was arbitrarily ruled censorwise by Claude Binford, who made the most surprising decisions. . . .

"A Jewish rabbi, a Methodist pastor, a Baptist minister voted against the system of a five-member censorship board, and without exception said that the people in Memphis and the film companies themselves were well qualified to censor motion pictures. . . ."—From Louella Parsons' syndicated Hollywood column, February 16.

Religious Education Should Pay Own Way, Bishop Holt Tells POAU Rally

Speaking as one who in nearly 50 years in the ministry had had "too deep an interest in religious fellowship to indulge in vitriolic criticism of religious opinions which I do not hold," Methodist Bishop Ivan Lee Holt of St. Louis told some 3,000 persons attending a POAU chapter-sponsored meeting on March 2 that church schools should not only be self-supporting but that

program of education is a violation of the fundamental American concept of the separation of church and state."

2. "Any segment of our American population which wishes to send its children to schools it creates should then pay for that educational program. If every religious group should make claim on public funds for the children of its group, the result would be hopeless division when we need more integrating influences in our American democracy."

3. "Schools supported from the public treasury must meet the requirements of the supporting agency. It is hardly conceivable that the Roman Catholic Church would surrender the management of its schools, or even allow the demands of any secular agency of the state, if it were to receive public funds."

4. "The teachers in many Catholic schools are competent, but would all of them meet the standards set up for public school teachers? [See "State School Laws and Standards—A POAU Survey," *Church and State*, September, 1954.] Is it a legitimate right to use public funds to make Catholics, or Methodists, or Presbyterians?"

5. "The Missouri statutes require that all schools in Missouri, public and private, give regular courses of instruction in 'the Constitution of the United States and the State of Mis-

souri, and in American history, including the study of American institutions.' No student shall receive a certificate of graduation without passing an examination in those subjects."

"Then, teachers in public schools must meet certain educational requirements; there is no demand with reference to private schools except of their management."

"The community or the state does not even enforce the requirement as to the teaching of courses on the American Constitution and American institutions in private schools."

5. "There is a decided difference of opinion between certain Roman Catholic leaders and certain Protestant leaders on a definition of religious freedom, and on the relation of church and state."

In his luncheon address, Dr. Hewlett said that he had observed signs of grave weakness in Spanish Catholicism and expressed the opinion that the Church is saved from "collapse" by the Franco dictatorship. But he added that he had found equally bad, if not worse, religious intolerance in Mohammedan countries as he travelled through them on his return last year from the Baptist World Alliance convention in London.

County Hospital

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on Highway 64 East, but Commissioner W. W. Holding of Wake Forest immediately requested a recess so that the Bishop's proposal might be considered.

Within a few hours of the presentation of Bishop Waters' letter, Protestant groups began to take action. The Caraleigh Baptist Church of Raleigh immediately held a conference and adopted a resolution opposing the plan as a denial of the principle of church-state separation. The next day the Presbyterian Council of Raleigh and the Religious Liberty Committee of the Raleigh Baptist Association went on record against the proposal, as did the Hartnett County Ministerial Association at a special meeting in Buies Creek.

Finally, after considerable public discussion, the county commissioners adopted a resolution thanking Bishop Waters for his offer but indicating that they had decided it would be unwise to place the county hospital under the authority of a religious organization.

CHURCH AND STATE

Monthly Organ of
Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation
of Church and State
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